

SOME

Seasonable and Modest

THOUGHTS

Partly occasioned by, and partly concerning the

Scots East-India

C O M P A N Y.

Humbly offered to R. H. Esq. a Member
of the present *Parliament*.

By an unfeigned and hearty Lover of

ENGLAND.

EDINBURGH,

Re-printed by George Mosman, and are to be Sold, at his
Shop in the *Parliament Clofs*, 1696.

Some persons and members Theological
Society by and partly concerning the
Society of Friends

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The following is a list of the names of the persons and members of the Theological Society of Friends, who have been appointed to the various committees and sub-committees, and who have been authorized to act on behalf of the Society in the various matters relating to the same. The names are given in alphabetical order, and the committees and sub-committees to which they have been appointed are given in parentheses. The names of the persons and members of the Society who have been appointed to the various committees and sub-committees, and who have been authorized to act on behalf of the Society in the various matters relating to the same, are given in alphabetical order, and the committees and sub-committees to which they have been appointed are given in parentheses. The names of the persons and members of the Society who have been appointed to the various committees and sub-committees, and who have been authorized to act on behalf of the Society in the various matters relating to the same, are given in alphabetical order, and the committees and sub-committees to which they have been appointed are given in parentheses.

*Some seasonable and modest Thoughts, partly
occasioned by, and partly concerning the
Scots East-India Company.*

S I R,

THIS Paper would not come addressed to you, if I knew any in your *House*, to whom for all intellectual and moral Qualities it might more justly be inscribed and dedicated: Your admirable Knowledge, steady Vertue, unstained Honour, and unwearied Application, which do so well qualify you at all times and especially at this *Critical* Juncture, to be an useful Member of the Great *Senate*, and which do so singularly adapt you to co-operate with such others there, as are guided by *Love* to their *Country*, and the old *Maxims of English Policy*, to save this *Nation* from menacing and impending Ruin, to recover it to Honour abroad, and preserve it in Peace at home, and to retrieve our Traffick, and render it safe and prosperous, Do make you the worthy Object of all honest Mens Love and Esteem, and do conciliate all those to be your Servants aswell as your Friends, who do either respect themselves or their Posterity. Nor could any thing have entitl'd you to be thus applyed unto by an unknown Person, save the Opinion which I have of your *Wisdom* and *Justice*; and that as you are able to judge of what is here represented, that you will likewise do it with an Equity becoming the Merit of the Cause, and not under the Bias either of antient Piques, or of supposed present Emulations between these two *British Kingdoms*.

S I R, I shall not now dispute, whether the World might not have been happier by its continuance under Confinement, and stak'd down to *Agriculture*, and those *Mechanick Arts* that are needful to the Conveniences of Life, (without purveying for our Pride and Sensuality) than it is by launching out into that measure and degree of *Mercantile Commerce* which has excited our Lusts aswell as fed them; and given provocation to Vice by yeilding Fewel to it. But some Nations having departed from the antient simplicity of Living contented

with the Productions of their own Countries, and having by Navigation and Trade, raised themselves to Wealth, Power, and increase of Inhabitants; it thereupon grew necessary for other Nations to fall into the like Methods, lest otherwise they should have been a Prey, as well as a Derision, to them whom Trade had rendered Mighty and Opulent: So that now the Application unto, and the Encouragement and Protection of Trade, is not a Matter of meer Choice and Discretion, but of indispensable Necessity for every Kingdom that is qualified by their Situation for it, and would not be contemned and insulted, and by continually exposed to be conquered by any ambitious and encroaching Neighbours, whom Trade hath made Wealthy and Powerful: For as Trade is a richer and more durable Mine than any in Mexico or Peru, and whence a Nation may constantly derive an Increase of Bullion and Corn, so in proportion to its plenty of Money, will it flourish at Home, and be terrible Abroad; and Answerable to the Measures that any Country or Kingdom arriveth at in forreign Commerce and Traffick, will it proportionably grow, not only in Naval Strength, but in Military Force by Land: Of which not only the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians*: of old, and long after them the *Venetians*, *Genouese*, and *Portuguese* are famous Instances; but whereof the *Dutch* are in a special manner an amazing and illustrious Example; who tho they have narrow and scanty Territories, live under a bad Air, dwell upon a watery and unhealthy Soil, and have scarce any native Productions of their own, but are forced to fetch their Bread, their Drink, their Rayment from elsewhere; yet through the meer pursuit of, and application to Trade, they not only rival the greatest Kings and most potent Kingdoms in powerful Navies, and warlike Armies, but they give Laws to several mighty Monarchs and States in all the known Parts of the World. And forasmuch as Money will always procure Men, they do in the Virtue thereof supply themselves from time to time with vast Numbers of Souldiers from divers parts of Europe; and without imploying any, or at least very few of their own People, they do by their Acquisitions in way of Trade, muster and keep up large Armies, both for their own Defence in times of Peace as well as of War; which their living upon a Continent surrounded with Neighbours who envy their Prosperity, and are jealous of their Power, rendereth necessary; and also for the Offence of those that seek to encroach upon or insult them. So that by their meer Money, which is the Result and Product of Trade, they purchase Men to shed their Blood, and to lose their Lives in defending them against, and in the making Conquests for them upon others: And the Nature of War being chang-

ed from what antiently it was, when Courage and Bravour often decided a Quarrel between States and Kingdoms in a Day, and seldom missed putting an End to a War, either by Victory or Accommodation, within the Circle of one Campaign; the Success of it now is come to depend upon the largest *Purse*, and not the bravest *Troops*; and they who have most Money, tho' not always the *valiantest Men*, will have the better in the War, though they may sometimes have the work in a *Battel*: So that no poor Nation can in the way that War is now managed, carry an *Offensive War* against a *Wealthy*, tho' it may possibly through some Advantages peculiar to it, be in a condition to maintain a *Defensive*; as the *Switzers*, who through plenty of brave Men, and by reason of the situation of their Country, may continue a *Defensive War*, at least for a time, against any Nation that shall have the boldness to attack them. But I do say, that no necessitous and indigent Nation can make an *Offensive War* against a wealthy Kingdom or State, unless they can make their Enemies Country the Seat of it, and by the plenty and Riches thereof both subsist and pay their own Army: Whereas the *Danesh*, through their being *wealthy* by reason of *Trade*, have heretofore lived many Years in War without growing weary of it; and tho' they have seldom made great Acquisitions, yet they have as seldom sustained any considerable Losses, yea they have been able by their Money, which is the Product of their *Commerce*, to prevail upon others to assist them, when the Subversion of their State has been most menaced, and their Country in the greatest Jeopardy; tho' they have also (to be restored to the free and quiet following of their *Traffic*) purchased sometimes their own Peace at their Friends Expence, and have abandoned those *Allies* that came to succour them.

Nor need I tell you, Sir, that *Trade* is like a nice and coy Mistress, which you must not only industriously court to get possessed of it, but sedulously pursue, and tenderly cherish if you would preserve and secure it: For the *Dangers*, inseparably incident to *Trade*, are of that Variety and number, that unless it be encouraged by *Immunities* from grievous *Impositions*, few will embark in it, and fewer persevere to follow it. For who would expose their whole Fortune and Capital to the Hazards which unavoidably accompany *Navigation* and *Traffic*, if all that thereby accrues to them be, to bear the chiefest Burden in the supporting the Government, and by heavy *Taxes* upon them, to ease those from *National Impositions*, who either wallow in Plenty and Luxury, through having Estates in *Land*, or who subsist comfortably on *Agriculture* and *Mechanick* Employes, without being exposed to the Dan-

gers or running the *Hazards* which attend long *Voyages* and foreign *Commerce*? And as the *Instances* are many and obvious to every one's *Observations*, that is in any degree acquainted with the *World*, or conversant in *History*, that as *Trade* has always forsook and abandoned those places where it hath come to be too much loaded and burdened, tho its *Reliance* may have antecedently been fixed there, for *Ages* as well as *Years*: So it is not unworthy of *Remark*, that *Trade* seldom, if ever, returned to a place which it has once forsook; nor has it been found, that they who by grievous *Impositions* have at any time drove *Trade* away, could be able to recover it again by any *Change* of their *Conduct*, or other *Methods* which they have fallen upon. And considering the many *Advantages* that arrive to *Kingdoms* in the increase of *Manufactures* and Rise of *Rents*, both of *Lands* and *Houses*, through the *Prosperity* and Success of *Trade*; it is a wonder that any *People*, who have but *Wit* to govern themselves by *Interest*, if they will not by the *Measures* of more refined *Wisdom* and *Justice*, should burden and overload *Trade*, which is the *Source* and *Fountain* of so many and great *Advantages* to them: Nor should there be more needful, both to inform and convince the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of the *Benefits* arising by the *Protection* and *Encouragement* of *Trade*, than that within the *Compass* of little more than a *Century* of *Years*, in which *Trade* began to augment, the *value* of *Lands* in *England* is risen to a full *Mortality*; and it is as demonstrable as any *Problem* in *Euclid*, that were our *Tunnage* and *Poundage* and other *Impositions* on *Trade*, that starve and cripple it, taken off, or at least abated, both the *Lands* of the *Gentry* would still rise higher in their *Value*, and the *Manufactures* of this *Kingdom* would be more plentifully exported, and thereupon proportionably increase and multiply: So that if *Trade* were more eased and privileged from *impositions* in times of *Peace*, tho *Lands* might thereby come to be the more loaded; yet such a *Method* would not only be greatly to the *Advantage* of the *Kingdom*, but would turn to the benefit of the *Freeholder* and *Landlord*, in that *Lands* and *Houses* would thereupon be both *Let* and *Sold* at such *Rates* and *Values* (beyond what they now are) as would be more than an *Equivalent* of such a *Burden*. And would Men allow themselves to think calmly of this *Matter*, the *Heretor* at the *Rebound* would find his *Interest* as much in the relieving *Trade* from *Impositions* and *Taxes* as the *Merchant* would do immediately: But then to continue not only *Burdens* upon *Trade* in time of *War*; but to increase them proportionably to the growth of the *Charge* and *Expence* that the *Kingdom* is forced to be at, in the supporting and defraying it, is so irreconcilable to all the *Rules* of *Wisdom*

dom as well as of Justice, that the doing it is a Reproach upon the understandings of a People, as well as a Reflection upon their Equity: For the *Hazards* which *Traders* are then exposed unto more than other Persons, and the *Losses* which at such a time they must unavoidably meet with, in whatsoever they either Export or Import, will be found to affect the *Merchant's* Estate and Capital so far, that it ought both in Prudence and Justice to be allowed to pass in stead of his *Quota* to all publick *Taxes*. But alas! such have been the *Wayes* and *Means* of raising Money for the carrying on the present *War*, that the *Merchants* have not only born a great share in the whole Charge and Expence of it at home through *Taxes* imposed upon *Shipping* as well as upon Merchandice, but they have also by reason of the neglects in protecting *Navigation*, had the Misfortune to defray a great part of the *Enemies* Expence in the War they make upon us, as you may easily comprehend, upon considering the vast Number of *Ships* with their *Cargoes*, which they have taken from us since the Commencement of it: and which (if calculated at the lowest Value) must amount to several Millions Sterling. In a word, the less the *impositions* are upon Trade, the more Money the *Merchant* has to employ in it, and to apply to the Enlargement of it; and the more vigorously it is carried on, the further it is enlarged, the more our *Manufactories* will multiply at home; and all that we can fabrick will be the better transported abroad. And as the Trade of *England* is Capable of great *Improvements*, and of being far extended beyond what it is yet arrived at, and this both as to the productions of *Arts* and *Nature* at home, and as to the enlarging our Commerce in the Commodities of *Foreign Countries*: so nothing has so much discouraged, crippled and narrowed it, as the draining those large Sums and vast Proportions of Money out of the *Merchants* Stock and Capital, by his paying high *Impositions*, *Customs* and *Taxes*, which without those Burdens upon Trade would have been all applied unto the Increase of his Stock, and employed in the Enlargement of Commerce and Traffick. Nor would it derogate from the prudence of our Legislators, if the received practice and the present Posture of Affairs will not allow them to make this Kingdom a *Free Port*; yet at least to imitate the Dutch, (that know so well how to grow strong and opulent) who tho they have little Land to Tax towards the defraying the Charges of their Government, and who are also by Nature precluded from several other wayes and means of raising Money for the Defence of their State, which lie open and are practicable to us; yet even they do with singular Care and in a most special Manner cover and excuse Trade from all extraordinary and grievous

your Impositions, and do abuse rather to raise Money for the answering the Necessities and Exigencies of their Government, in a hundred other Methods, than to clog Traffick, or to make the *Marbels* uneasy through large and mortifying Impositions.

AND, Sir, you will readily imagine, that if Trade, in order to be being preserved and enlarged, must be so tenderly cherished, and so carefully indulged where it is already established, and has gained the Esteem and Affections of a People; it must then be more amorously Courted and Addressed unto in all the ways that are Charming, in order to give a beginning unto it, and fix it a Settlement where it has had little Footing, and scarcely been entertained: And the more enticing, must the Means be to allure a People to it, and to make them espouse it with Ardour, where not only the *Genius* and *Inclinations* of a Nation have generally stood byassed another way, but where (tho' being habituated to greater Frugality than their Neighbours) they have for the most part sat down contented with their own Home-Productions, as being sufficient to accommodate all the needful cravings of *Nature*, and to yield Supplies for the common conveniences of Life: or they have only exceeded their Trade to an *intercourse* with these adjoining Nations, that could both take off those few Superfluities which their Country yieldeth, and might furnish them with all those Supplies which modern Vanity, Pride and Luxury have rendered as it were necessary. And if *Penal-Laws* have been found necessary to withdraw the Native *Irish* from their antient rude Custom of inaking their Horses plow and draw by the Tails, you will not wonder if *Beneficial Laws* be thought needful to turn the Applications of the *Souls* into another Channel, than that in which most of them have hitherto exercised their Parts, and employed their Industry: and by how much any Kingdom or State findeth that others have been long embarked in Traffick before them, by so much must the Encouragement be the greater, and the prospects of Success and Advantage made the more visible and naturally certain to obtain their People to start so late, and so far behind those interested in Trade previously to them, that they do in a manner see the Prize of the Course, in which they are engaging in the Possession and Enjoyment of others, before they can set out and begin: Nor is there any thing more universally practised by all Nations, and particularly by *England*, than to grant large *Privileges* to the Authors and Inventions of any thing *Natural* or *Artificial*, that may be profitable to Mankind, and beneficial to the Community: and various as well as many Instances, fall under every Man's Observation and View, how that the Projectors and

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and Authors of the best thing that hath seemed to have a tendency to publick and National *usefulness*, have had all the Profits that were likely for several Years to accrue from it, vested in them in the way of a Monopoly, as the Recompence and Reward either of their Skill or of their Industry: nor can any be ignorant, who are conversant either in our *History*, or in our *Statute-Book*, what Concessions, Priviledges and Immunities have been heretofore granted to the *Walloons* and others, to tempt them hither, and by them to get possession of, and to establish those various *Manufactures*, which have been of so much Reputation, as well as of Advantage to the Kingdom. Yea, while the *Ingeny*, Vigour and Industry of the Natives of *England*, spent themselves heretofore in other Ways, Exercises and Applications, than those of *Traffick*; what large Favours and Immunities were then granted unto, and bestowed upon *Foreigners*, to procure them to settle a *Staple of Commerce* here, and to cultivate *Trade*? For how much soever the *English* have within this last Age addicted themselves to *Trade* and *Navigation*; yet before the middle of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, their Application was not much greater thereunto than that of their Neighbours; and so unprovided was this Kingdom at that time, both of Ships and Mariners, and that no less for *Traffick* than for War, that the Government was forced to hire the one as well as the other, from the *Hanse-Towns*. 'Tis true, that long before, upon the *Burgundians* having procured of *John Duke of Brabant*, the Incorporation of a Company of *Merchant Adventurers*, Anno 1248. our Politick as well as Warlike Prince *Edward the 3d.* found means to allure it hither, and to get it transplanted into *England*; where being established by him, with many and great Priviledges, it was likewise afterwards confirmed by most of the Kings of *England* that succeeded him: But besides its being fallen in *queen Elizabeth's* Time, under some decline, had it been in its great Vigour, it could not have been able to support, extend and enlarge *Trade*, to the Measure and Degree which the *Balance of Europe* at that time, and the growth of *Navigation* and *Traffick* in other Nations made necessary to be attempted here, which as it occasioned *Commerce* to be cast, as it were, into a new Mould, and to put on a different Face from that in which it formerly appeared; so it procured those Encouragements unto *Trade*, and gained such Priviledges as might serve to promote its Propagation and Increase, to a Proportion that should not only equal that of other Nations, but exceed it. Nor is it improbable but that the Prospect which all People then had of *England* and *Scotland's* being likely soon after to be united under *One Sovereign*, might give great Encouragement to this Kingdom to apply it to *Navigation* and *Com-*

mercer more than it had been accustomed to do, and that not only upon the hopes of being delivered from these Wars from the future which had for many Ages been too frequent between these British Nations, and consequently great Obstructions to Trade; but in that these Kingdoms becoming to be so far incorporated, as to be under One Monarch, England should have thence forward, little cause of Apprehension of War with any of its Foreign Neighbours, and especially with France; and that partly by reason of the Addition of Strength, which this Conjunction of the two Nations would give against any Enemy, and partly because the Alliance and Friendship between Scotland and France (which had often rendered the French the bolder to make War with England) would by this Union be unavoidably dissolved, Nor is it needful that I should expatiate in representing, how that when this Nation began to apply it self industriously and extensively to Trade, all the Methods imaginable of Kindness unto, and Care over Merchants and Navigation were made use of by the Government, to encourage them and cultivate it: For as there was a Naval Strength always in readiness, and (upon every Emergency and needful Occasion) employed to protect it, so the Impositions upon it were extremely Moderate, in comparison of what (as appears by the Book of Rates, and the several Acts of Parliament which charge Navigation and Trade, with so many Duties and Imposts) they are grown up into since: For all the Taxes then exacted of Merchants were rather little Recognitions of their Dependence upon the Crown, and small acknowledgements of the Countenance and Defence which they received from the Government, than any Burdens and grievous Incumbrances, by which they might be discouraged, and Traffick loaded; so that the whole Carriage of those then in Authority towards Commerce, and those embarked in it, spake an indulgent Care towards it and them, and such a tender regard to both, as became the Infancy of Trade, and the Difficulties which Beginners were to encounter with: and particularly as to the Society that was erected to Trade to the East-Indies, there was all the Wisdom and Goodness exercised towards it, that might be subservient to the promoting of it; for upon its first Incorporation, Anno 1599. it had not only many Immunities granted unto it, but was Incorporated into a Company, with a Right and Authority vested in it, of Trading to the Indies, preclusively of all their Fellow-Subjects that were not of that Corporation. For tho' it be inconsistent, both with the Wisdom and the Justice of the Government of England, and also with the Rights and Liberties of the People, to erect all Traders into every Place,
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into *Companies*, exclusive of other *English* Natives and Freemen to Traffick thither, where the *Trade* may be effectually and advantageously carried on by single Dealers, or by voluntary Associations, seeing such *Incorporated Societies* would be so many *Monopolies*, which are *Usances* in a Countrey where the Ends of *Commerce* may be otherwise compassed and obtained; yet it hath alwise been the Prudence of the Government, to devolve *Trade* unto such Places upon an Incorporated *Company*, where it could neither be protected nor enlarged, save by a *Society* trading and acting on a *Joint Stock*. And as the Interest of the Kingdom, with respect to the Quality of the Place, where a *Trade* is to be managed, must give rules for the *Method*, and determine the *Way* in which it is to be carried on: so in that case, where it would be to the Loss and Prejudice of the Kingdom, to have a *Trade* laid open to whosoever will be dealing in it, the Publick and National Benefit ought to be preferred to that of particular Persons. And as we do know how the *Trade* of *England* to the *East-Indies*, was in a manner wholly lost from the Kingdom, during the *Usurpation* of the *Rump Parliament*, and of *Oliver Cromwell*, by their putting it out of the *Channel*, in which it had been managed by an *Incorporated Society*, and leaving to every one that pleased to venture upon it: So the Indulgence given of late Years to *Interlopers*, has both had fatal Effects upon that *Trade*, and has not much commended their Care of the Nation, who either allowed or connived at it. For as single Traders will be easily tempted at so great a distance, to commit *Depredations* upon the Natives of those Countries, and thereby provoke them as well to make *Reprisals* upon us, as to renounce all friendly and amicable *Commerce* with us: so no Dealers save in the way of an Incorporated *Company* trading upon a *Joint-Stock*, can erect and maintain *Forts*, establish *Factories*, and raise, and pay that armed Force in the Places they have chosen for their Residence and the Seat of their Traffick, as will either discourage those *Nations* that rival us in *Trade* from supplanting them, or the *Natives* upon every imagined Offence from insulting them. To which I crave Liberty to add, that every Nation or State in Europe, which upon Motive of Interest have established a *Society* that might trade to the *Indies*, have at the first Erection of such a Corporation, granted vast Priviledges unto it for its Encouragement; of which the *Dutch* are a famous and instructive Example. who tho they had acquired some beginnings of a *Trade* thither by the Industry of private and particular Dealers, yet that wise People being sensible that it could neither be much enlarged, nor long preserved in that *Method* of *Trade*, they thereupon in the

Year 1602, gave Establishment to a Company that might trade *whithersoever* of all other of their own Subjects; and for their Encouragement (notwithstanding all the Necessities of the State at that time) excused them from all Taxes and Impositions upon that Trade, for the space of 21 Years, and only obliged them, in way of an acknowledgement of their Dependence upon the *States General*, to pay in the whole, within the Compass of the first 10 Years, the Sum of five and twenty thousand Florins, which amounted to little more than 2000 *lib. Sterl.* and was rather a *Recognition* of whom they held their right of Trading thither, than a Burden upon that Traffick. So that through the Priviledges and Immunities which were granted unto them then, most whereof have been still continued to them since, they are become the most Opulent and Powerful Trading Society of the World, and the chief Pillar of the *Dutch State*; and tho they be but in the quality of Subjects at Home, they are great Sovereigns in the *Indies*, and not only give Laws to many *Eastern Princes*, but ingross from *Europeans* what parts of the *Indian* Traffick they please. And if such Encouragements have been thought needful towards the giving a beginning and an increase to an *East-India* Trade, when there were none, or at least very few of those Difficulties and Dangers to be encountered, from Rival Nations, that are now unavoidably to be encountered; and if such Immunities were fit to be granted at a Season when the Trade was not forestalled, preoccupied, nor previously possessed to any considerable Degree by other *Europeans*; it is easy to imagine how indispensably necessary it is for those that would now begin a Trade thither, to give all the Encouragements to it that are under the Power, and within the Circle of a Government and Nation to grant. And experience in our Neighbouring Kingdoms may teach us, how weak and ineffectual the Concession of the greatest Priviledges is towards the Establishing such a Trade to the *Indies*, as may answer the Pains and Cost in endeavouring it, and bringing it to turn to such an account, as may bear proportion to the Expence, as well as to the Industry and Hazards of attempting it after so wealthy and potent Nations as *England* and *Holland* have gotten antecedent possession, and will endeavour to ingross that Trade to the Exclusion of all others. For not only all the large Priviledges and Immunities granted by the King of *Denmark* and the *Electors of Brandenburg*, for the raising and promoting of an *East-India* Trade, have proved insignificant in advancing the End and Design which they proposed, at least not to such a Degree as may turn to their own Honour, and the profit of their respective Countries; but even those vast Encouragements given

given by the great Monarch of France, to raise the Genius and quicken the Industry of his People to the beginning and carrying on of an India Trade, have proved little better than abortive: So that instead of blaming the Scots for what we esteem extravagant Concessions, in order to their joining a Trade to the East Indies, all those Indulgences may be rather look'd upon as means much below, and disproportioned to what they are aiming at: And they who will judge of things impartially, will rather judge them to have been *deficient* than *excessive* in the *Revolutions* they have granted; for as some other besides those mentioned in the *Act*, could not escape falling under their Thoughts and View, so the granting them would have been Wise and just in it self, and congruous to the Undertaking which they would give Being unto: However, as the offering and granting *less* would have left them under an imputation of *Folly* and *Weakness*, in proposing to compass *mighty* Ends by *feeble* Means; so they will be more fortunate than others have been, if the *Success* upon those *Encouragements* do either Answer the *Wishes* they have, or the *Hopes* they entertain.

AND, Sir, instead of its giving any just Occasion of Surprise, that the Parliament of Scotland should endeavour at last to excite their People to a Share in Trade, somewhat proportionable to what other Nations have attained unto, it is rather matter of Astonishment and Wonder that their Nobility, Gentry and Burgeesses who constitute their *Senate*, being generally Men of Equal Wit with those of the like Qualities in neighbouring Countries and being also most of them so well acquainted with the World, as to understand the Advantages which redound to Kingdoms by Trade; and that the Figure which one Nation maketh above another, proceedeth, *ceteris paribus*, from Wealth which is the Result and Product of Trade, they should have so long omitted the giving those *Encouragements* to it: which they might, and which other Nations have done. For tho the Bias of their People seems generally to lie another way, as I have already said, yet that is merely the effect of *Custom*, and not of *Nature*: And as it would not have been difficult at any time heretofore to have diverted and turned their Inclination and Humour from *Soldiery* to *Commerce*; so it is not to be doubted, but that upon their being once brought to apply unto it, they would be found as ingenious and diligent in Trade, as they have had the Character to be skilful and brave in War; nor are they worse qualified by their *Indian* and *African* Traffick than their Neighbours are: but if any will in that pretend to an Advantage above another, it indisputably falls to the Lot of the Scots, in that they have neither long and dangerous Channels to pass, before they arrive at their Ports from an *Indian* or *Afri-*

reach Voyage; nor yet a tedious and perillous *Cruise* to run about the North of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, but that they may immediatly out of the *Ocean* enter into safe and convenient *Harbours*. And then as for convenient Numbers of *Men* fit to be employed in *Navigation*, they are by reason of the Populacy of their Country, answerable to the Dimensions of it; and that there are proportionably more of them of the inferior Rank, than are elsewhere, as well furnished with *Persons* capable to be *Mariners*, as any Country whatsoever, and those generally, who through the Strength of their *Constitution* and the Hardiness and Frugality of their *Education*, are not only as able as any to undergo long Voyages, with all the Incidents of Heat, Cold, and sometimes scarcity of Provisions for Subsistence that do attend them; and who, through an Obedience they are bred to from their Youth, are not so liable to mutiny as some others may be, but who can (equally with, if not better than most) endure Foreign *Climates*, and with less despondency of Mind, and feebleness of Body, encounter those Diseases which Strangers are obnoxious unto, upon their first Arrival in *Africa* and the *East-Indies*. So that considering all the natural *Advantages* which the *Scots* have to encourage their Application to *Trade*, it would strange y reflect upon the Wisdom of the *Parliament* of that Kingdom, and greatly detract from the Love which they ought to bear to their Country, and from the Care as well as Zeal which they ought to express for the Honour and Prosperity of it, in their having so long neglected to establish, cultivate and promote *Trade* with a greater Vigour, and more extensively than they have done, were there not some *Reasons* (which tho they may already lie under the View of a Person of your Penetration, I shall nevertheless for the sake of others represent them unto you) that may serve in some measure to excuse, though possibly they may not wholly justify their Conduct in this matter. Whereof take this for the first; namely, That it is not long since the *African* and *East-India* Trades grew into that Reputation in *Europe* of Profitableness, or came so to flourish through the Industry of these Northern Nations, as to raise Emulation in their Neighbours of obtaining a Share in them: For as 'tis within less than thirty or forty Years, that this part of the World grew so fond of many of the Productions of those places, or that trading Societies to them being established, had outwrestled and conquered the Difficulties that attend Beginnings of that kind, or had brought them to answer the Dangers and Expenses, which those Companies were forced to be ar, in laying the Foundations of their Traffick thither, and in rendering it first safe there, and then then advancing it to be gainful and profitable here;

here: So that it is no wonder if *Scotland* (that is a Kingdom inferiour to *England* in Power and Opulency) should suspend and delay Attempts of endeavouring to settle a *Commerce* thither, until they should see what success would ensue upon the Care and Industry of those *English Companies*, which were erected for the Cultivation and Management of those ~~two~~ respective *Trades*. Nor did the Conduct of *Scotland* in this matter differ much from the behaviour of other Kingdoms, and particularly of *France*, with which *Scotland* pretends not to compare it self in largeness of Territories, numbers of People, or greatness of *Treasure*: And the adverse Fortune which the *English* long wrestled with, with the Difficulties and Losses which they encountered to the weakning, if not almost ruining of the *Undertakers*, before they could bring the *Trade* to *India*, to be either *Profitable* to themselves and the Kingdom, or *honourable* to the Government, might well discourage the *Scots* from being forward in embarking in a Course of Traffick, under the Discouragements and Arduousness whereof their richer and more powerful Neighbours were ready to succumb; whereas having now seen, that the establishing and carrying on of that *Trade* both with *Credit* and vast *Profit*, is not only practicable, but that by reason of the Humour that is now grown predominant in *Europe*, of preferring the productions of those Countries to any of the *Fruits* of *Nature*, or the *Manufactures* of *Art*, which Nations nearer home do afford, the *Money* of those States and Kingdoms, who are not immediatly interested in that *Trade*, is drawn away from them, and comes into the Possession of those who deal in the *Original* importing of the Commodities of the *East-Indies*, first into their own Countries, and then in vending them to other Nations. And the *Scots* being as ready to run into the Fashion of the World as other Nations about them are, tho they cannot spare so much Money to be drawn out of their Country, as the gratifying their Vanity in Expences of that kind will require, have therefore found it necessary to erect an *East-India* Company, both for supplying themselves, and thereby keeping their Money at home, and also to export and vend abroad to others, and by that meanes to draw *Bullion* and *Cash* into the Kingdom from those Countries, where their *India* Goods come to be disposed. And they have the more reason to fall upon all the *Methods*, and to use all the *Ways* they can to increase their *Coin*, seeing neither *Nations* nor *Persons* are now valued, as antiently they were, by their *Ingenuity*, *Fortitude*, and moral *Worth*, but according to their *Wealth*, and the proportion of *Silver* that they Weigh at, in the scale of *Quantity*, the Scarcity whereof in *Scotland*, through want of *Trade* (which is

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the Source and Fountain of its being any where plentiful) has given occasion to some of their opulent Neighbours (whom *Wealth* hath made haughty and disdainful) to fasten upon them the Character of beggarly *Scots*; and the which, as it appears by their neglect of Trade, they have hitherto born with a Tameness, as if they were not ashamed of the Reproach. And truly were the Estimate of Kingdoms and Persons made now, as formerly it was wont to be, and as it really ought, Poverty (where it is compensated by true intrinsic Moral and Intellectual Worth) is not such an Ignominy as it is now, both by those that charge it upon others, and as it is commonly taken by them, upon whom it is fastened; seeing as there may be found Kingdoms that are poor and indigent in Coin which nevertheless are warlike, noble and Generous; and Nations (on the contrary) vastly Rich, who can never emerge from being Rustick and Boorish; so there is nothing more apparent, tho less acknowledged, than that some Persons with a very light Purse may be genteel, meritorious and honourable, while others of twenty and forty thousand Pounds Capital, do deserve to be as much reckoned in the Number of the Mob, as they who sell Brooms, or cry Small Coal. But then I swallow me to add in the second place, that the *Scots* were for many Years, after the *English* and they came under Our Sovereign, treated with that Equality and Indulgence, with reference to the Mutual Traffick of the Kingdoms, or at least with that Respect and Fairness, that the *Scots* had not that Cause and Occasion administered unto them, of establishing and pursuing Trade upon a separate and distinct Bottom of their own, as they have had for these several late Years, and still have; in that upon the two Nations first coming to be the Subjects of one and the same King, besides the prospect which the *Scots* had, and the Hopes that were given them, that the two Kingdoms should be so cemented and united, as to become interested and vested in the same civil and Politick Liberties, Rights and Privileges, they had in the mean time immediately granted unto them (by the Concession and Adjustment of the Commissioners, of both Nations, who soon after King James the First had attained to the Crown of England, were called and authorized to meet and sit about the debating and perfecting a compleat Union between the two Kingdoms) that the *Scots* should be under no Restrictions in matter of Trade more than the *English* were, save that they were to stand prohibited from the Exportation of Wool, and a few other *English* productions. And as this Privilege was not envied, or denied them by the *English* for many Years, So the *Scots* had no reason all that while of complaining, that they were unkindly or unequally dealt with, or of falling under the Temptations of

erecting Trading Societies, with larger Privileges than were granted in England. But on the contrary, they lay under all the friendly Obligations imaginable of acquiescing in that share and proportion of Traffick, that was so cheerfully allowed them, Nor was the Trade of England to the East-Indies, and to the American Plantations, and much less to Africa, (which have since proved the Occasion of the English entering upon other Measures of Commerce, and of laying those Restraints, and Inhibitions upon the Scots in the Matter of Trade, that were not formerly dreamed off) arrived at that Maturity and Perfection, as to be the Mine of Wealth for the enriching those that were licensed to pursue it and by Consequence it would create no great Emulations, and much less Envy or Discord between the Kingdoms about being interested in it. And as there was not any considerable Alterations made, from what I have mentioned, through the Conduct of the English towards the Scots in the Business of Trade, during the Reigns of James I. and Charles I. So every one knows that those Privileges, during the Administration of the Parliaments 1641, and of Oliver Cromwell's usurpation, were rather Enlarged towards the Scots Nation, than any ways diminished and abridged. So that except the Diversion given to the Scots from following Trade with Application, which the War began, that Scotland was for several Years engaged in, sometimes for, and sometimes against England, they had no cause given them of Offence or Complaint, by Reason of those preclusions, Restrictions and Hardships which have been put upon them in Matter of Trade since the Restoration 1660. And I am sorry to say it, considering that they had both suffered so much for King Charles, and cooperated with General Monk to the Degree they did, towards his Reestablishment upon his Thrones, that they were soon after not only put out and debarr'd from all the Privileges in Traffick, which they had formerly enjoyed, but were in all Particulars, that Respect Trade, put into the perfect State and Condition of Slaves, tho the going so, was directly repugnant to all the Laws and judg'd Cases, relative to the Polish. For by several Acts of the Parliaments of England immediately, or soon after the Restoration, particularly by that 42 Car. 2. titled *An Act for the encouraging and increasing Shipping and Navigation*, and by another, 17 Car. 2. called *An Act for the encouragement of Trade*, the Scots are not only treated with distinguishingly worse than any other of the Subjects of the King of Great Britain, but they are placed in the same Circumstances as to Traffick, with French and Flanders, which as the Scots think, could be designed for no other End, than the putting them in a worse Condition

than that both of a *Province*, and a *Conquered People*, which *Ireland* is; to which they grant the Priviledges which they refuse to *Scotland*: You will not thereupon be amazed, or think it strange, if the *Scots* have been endeavouring all along since, to vindicate themselves from that *Dishonour*, as well as to relieve themselves from that *Loss* and *Damage*, by setting their Nation on a *Basis* and *Foot of Trade*, that may not leave them obnoxious to be so easily contemned as they have been, nor continue them exposed to those *Dependences* upon the *Grace* and *Favour* of the *English*, which are merely precarious and may be withdrawn and denied when they please.

Which leads me to the third Thing which I am to lay before you, on the Head that I am upon, concerning the *neglect* which the *Scots* seem guilty of, in their failing to countenance and advance *Trade*; namely, that the *Act* of the late Session of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for Erecting an *East-Indian* and *African* Company, is not the *first*, since the Year 1660 (in which the Foundation of their being disabled and crippled in *Traffick* was laid) that they have passed and enacted with large *Immunities*, for the settling, encouraging and promoting Trade in their Country. For besides the *Act* for encouraging a *Foreign Trade*, made by the present Parliament of *Scotland*, Anno 1693, (wherein there are divers *Concessions* for the raising and quickning the *Genius* of the Kingdom, to an *Outlandish* Traffick) and which was only designed to be preparatory and introductive to this latter *Act*, and to pave the way for it, there were divers other *Acts*, granting great *Liberties* and *Immunities*, enacted in the first Parliament of *Charles II.* immediately after the many severe *Preclusions* and *Restrictions* laid upon the *Scots* by the Parliament of *England*, for debarring them from all share in the Trade, which the *English* drive either with *Foreigners*, or with the *American* Plantations. Among which other *Acts* and Statutes of the *Scots* Nation subservient hereunto, that *Act* is in a special manner worthy of Remark, which they pass in the Year 1661, for *Fishings*, and for promoting of the same; in which, as the *Priviledges* and *Immunities* vouchsafed by it, are both many and very considerable; so they were all granted and ordained to continue for ever: Whereas the *Concessions* of the late *Act*, which do make so much noise in the World, are confined to a certain Term of Years, some of them being limited to *Ten*, and those of the longest Duration, circumscribed to *One* and *Twenty*. And the Reasons why that *Act* produced not better Effects, nor more signally answered the End it was designed for, are so obvious, that they need not be insisted upon, but only to be hinted at, namely, that the said *Act* was not so much designed

designed to be put in Execution, as it was projected to try what could be procured in behalf of *Scotland*, from the Grace and Favour of our Princes, and thereby to gain a *Precedent* of their Mercy and Justice, in order to something that might be more conducive in Point of Trade, to the Honour and Interest of that Kingdom. To which may be added that it was enacted rather to alarm *England*, and to reduce the *English* from the unkind and severe Methods they were upon towards *Scotland*, than that any firm Resolutions were taken by the *Scots* for the pursuing of it. I may likewise subjoin, That a main Reason of its failing in the Execution, was the Scarcity of Money then in *Scotland*, to support and promote it, to the Degree that was necessary against our *Holland* Rivals and the not inviting *Foreigners* to have a Portion in the *Profits*, upon their bearing a Share in the *Expence*. Nor in the 4th place is it improbable but that our Opulent Neighbours the *Dutch*, who do in a manner wholly subsist, as well as gain so much by *fishing* on our *Seas*, might bribe some one or more great Men, employ'd in the Head of that Concern, secretly to supplant, and clandestinely to overthrow it. And to conclude this *Paragraph*, it may be farther added, That as the *Genius* of the *Nation* was not so much excited towards Trade then, as it is now: So the Business of *Fishery* was not a Game, that a People otherwise habituated, could be gained so easily to fly at, nor a *Quarry* they would be prevailed upon so industriously to dig in, as a Trade to the *Indies* and *Africa* is; the prosecution whereof will both bring more Reputation and Gain, than the catching of *Herring* and *Cod* could be supposed, either by Undertakers, Merchants, or Mariners to do.

But suffer me, Sir, to add, upon the unequal *Terms* which *England* and *Scotland* stand together, in matter of *Traffick*, it were better for *Scotland* that the two Nations should be under distinct Kings, as they are distinct Kingdoms, than that under one and the same Sovereign their Interests in point of *Commerce*, should be made so inconsistent with, and repugnant to one another, as the *English* will have them to be. For were *Scotland* a Nation subdued by the People of *England*, it were neither prudent nor safe for them, to treat the *Scots* with the Rigour and Severity which they do; by excluding them all other Share in the *Commerce* of *England*, or with it, save what they do in a manner allow to all sorts of *Alien* and *Foreigners*. Nor is it unworthy of Remark, that the *Romans* of old carried for the most part better, and behaved themselves both more generously and gently to those States and Nations which they conquered, than the *English* are willing to do to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which besides its being under the same King as they and

is as free a Nation as England it self; and altogether independent upon it. For whensoever the Romans subdued any People; unless they were such as had often revolted from, and rebelled against them; they not only left them in the enjoyment of all the Rights and Liberties which they had Possessed before, but they both commonly enlarged, and encreased them; and many times admitted those they had subdued, to a Share and Participation of all the Priviledges of Rome, and of the Roman Republic. And the more tenacious they found any People to be of their Liberty, and the greater Estimate they observed them to set upon it, the more Favour and Honour they judged that People worthy of. Whereof tho it were very easy to give a multitude of Examples, yet for brevity's sake, I shall assign only but one Instance, which is that of their dealing with the *Prætorians*, whom having upon a Revolt again subdued, and having brought some of them into the Senate-House, to receive and hear their Destiny, they asked at them in what manner they would keep Peace with the Romans for the future, in case they should forgive them? And being (as *Lucy* tell us) answered, *Si bonam dederint, fidem & perpetuam; si malam, haud dururnam*. That, If the Terms were good, they would perpetually observe it; but if they should be bad, they would in that Case keep it no longer than they should find themselves in a Condition with security to break it. With which Reply, some of the wisest of the Roman Senators were so Ravished, as well as pleased, that they cryed out, *Viri, & libera, vocem audistis esse; ut vultum populum, aut hominem in ea condicione, cujus cum peniteat, dururnam quam necesse sit, modifurum*. That they had heard the Language of a Brave People, and just Valuers of Freedom; adding, that no Nation, or particular Person would be willing to remain longer in any State or Condition that was disgustful to them, than untill they were able to rescue and deliver themselves. And if this was the Opinion of the wise Romans, in reference to a People whom they had subdued, can any that are Masters of common Sense imagine, and believe that a free, unincumbered, and independent People will be contented to be depressed by a Neighbouring Nation, without seeking to relieve themselves in all the just and lawful Methods that lie within their Circle? To which I might add, that there are many and Fatal Examples of the Disorders that have arisen between Nations under the same Monarch, when the one of them has endeavoured to ingross and monopolize either the *Foreign*, or the *home Trade* of the Sovereign's Dominions, and to preclude the rest from having a due and equal share in it; witness the *Roads* of Portugal from the Crown of Spain, because the *Catholics* debarr'd them from all

have in their Trade to the West-Indies. For that was the principal Reason (tho there were likewise some others of a different kind) why the *Portuguese* strook off the Government of the King of *Spain*, and set up the Duke of *Braganza* to be their King. Nay, I might also subjoin how that it hath often come to pass, that through a Nation's precluding even *foreign States* and Kingdoms, from a Share in Traffick to its own *particular Plantations*, there hath been formed, as it were, an universal Conspiracy of all those Nations, that hath been thus shut out and debarred, either for the wresting of that Trade from it, or for making it unprofitable and useless to it. The first whereof is verified in the *Portuguese*, who are in a manner wholly beaten out of their vast *East-India* Trade, through the Provocation they gave to other Nations by their striving to ingross it. And as to the latter, the *Spaniards* are now sunk under the Experience of it, in relation to their Traffick to their own *West-Indies*, whose Trade thither, instead of continuing to be beneficial to them, is turned and improved to their *Prejudice*, by those whom they excluded from all participation in it. How much less then will free and independent Nations patiently endure, that one or two Kingdoms or States should *Monopolize* to themselves all the Trade to *Africa*, *India* and *America*; as likewise in effect to several places of *Europe*? Yea should the *Scots* tamely acquiesce in this, all they would gain by their being under one and the same Monarch with the *English*, would be to become involved in all the reign Wars and Troubles, in which the *English* may be at any time engaged; but to have little or no Share in the Blessings and Benefits of its Prosperity and Peace. And seeing most of the Trade of *Scotland* lieth with neighbouring Nations, and especially those which *England* hath oftmost provocation to quarrel with; and the *Scots* driving very little Traffick with Countries far remote; it consequently follows that upon the Commencement of a War with those adjacent States and Kingdoms, the *Scots* do become in a manner, shut out from, and deprived of all *foreign Trade*; while in the mean time the *English* do continue to carry on a vast and Beneficial Trade to *Turky*, *Africa* and the *East-Indies*, as well as to and from their own *American Plantations*. Of which, as the Kingdom of *Scotland* has had other than once the woful Experience, upon any Rupture that hath happened between the *Crown of England* and the *States of Holland*, with whom, as most of the *Scots Trade* lieth, both as to the Exportation of their Superfluities, and the Importation of what they want and need; so the most of their Traffick hath in those Cases, been wholly interrupted and in a manner entirely ceased, while at the same time the *English* have kept up

a large and beneficial Trade to other places, in which the *Scots* are by several *English Acts* of Parliament debarr'd and precluded from all dealing. Yea the present War with *France* doth *ceteris paribus*, more affect *Scotland*; in point of Traffick, than it doth *England*; because as those Productions and Commodities which the *Scots* used to export thither, must necessarily lie upon their hands, through their having no other Place, to which to carry them; so they must be contented to wait those *French Goods* which they were accustomed to bring home in Lieu and Exchange of their own; while in the *interim* the *English* make a shift both to vend their Productions elsewhere, and to supply themselves in other Places, with what may answer those Commodities they used to import from *France*. To which may be added; that if *Scotland* remain, not only under those Exclusions, Limitations and Restrictions in matter of Trade, to which it is stak'd down and confined by the *Acts* of the Parliament of *England*, for the *encouraging and encreasing of Shipping and Navigation*, and for the *Encouragement of Trade*, and against the *Importation of Foreign Cattel*, but be withal discouraged, envied, depressed and counteracted when to prevent the Violation of, and out of respect to those *English Acts* they apply themselves to a new Method and Course of Traffick, and endeavour to settle themselves on another *Sea* and Bottom of Trade than they were formerly accustomed to: I say, (if these be the Circumstances they must abide under) the *Scots* instead of being Gainers, are great Losers by the Two Kingdoms coming to be United under One Sovereign. In reference whereunto, tho I could assign several Particulars, wherein they are thereby come to be endamaged, yet I shall only give an Instance in one; namely, that by their Incorporation with *England* under One and the same King, their antient, long and firm Alliance with *France* is entirely dissolved, issued and come to a final Period: Which as it had been many times of singular Advantage both to *France* and *Scotland*; so it was of great Profit, as well as Honour to the *Scots*, through the many signal Priviledges arising from that Confederacy, which the *Scots*, in Contradistinction from all other Nations, peculiarly enjoy'd, but are now totally lost to them. Upon which, *Sir*, it were not difficult to make those just and natural Reflections, which would shew that the present Conduct of the Kingdom of *England* towards *Scotland*, is not (if we will take the Opinion of the *Scots*) so temperate, prudent and discreet, as might be expected from a People that are so grateful, generous and wise, as the *English* have been alwise character'd to be: But to prevent giving Offence, I shall supersede and wave them all, and satisfy my self, in
that

that I have by the bare mention of the last Particular, started Matter worthy of the maturest Thoughts of those of the greatest Penetration, either in our Senate, or out of it. And therefore I shall only, on this Topick of Discourse, further subjoin, that upon the Terms on which the *Scots* stand, with relation to all the beneficial Trade in which the *English* are concerned, they are not only in as bad, but in a worse Condition than the Subjects of any Foreign Prince are; because that as they of a Foreign Kingdom or State, may for, and upon their being excluded from Trading into the *English American* Plantations, &c. make Reprizals upon the *English*, in debarring them from the Liberty and Benefit of Traffick to such Places, as are under the Power and Jurisdiction of those respective Kingdoms and States; and from, and with which they drive and pursue their most useful and enriching Commerce; so the Subjects of Foreign Princes and States are through the alone Countenance, Concession and Authority of their own proper and respective Sovereigns; alwise at liberty to erect and establish what Trade they please, to Places either unpreoccupied, or where freedom of Commerce is allowed promiscuously, to those of all Countries that shall think fit to deal with them; Wherein as Foreigners fall not under the Controul of the *English*, nor are discouraged by their Menaces; so in reference to these Princes and Rulers, under whom those Foreigners live, there is no room to make impression upon them, to withdraw from countenancing their own People, by the little Arts, and the various means of Influence which the *English* are in a Condition to use, and are supposed sometimes to practise, for diverting the KINGS of *Great Britain* from giving that equal Encouragement to the *Scots*, in matter of Trade, which the People of *England* think they have a Right both to demand and to expect, and which (through the Favour of the Common Sovereigns of both Nations) has been distinctively vouchsafed them. Which leads me to the next thing that I do crave liberty to lay unpartially before you.

Which is, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* is as much a free and independent Kingdom as the Kingdom of *England* is. That it is neither a Subdued nor a Tributary Nation, nor in the quality of a Province, peopled by a *Swarm* and *Colony* from hence. For tho' it may, and doth acknowledge *England* to be a more large, more populous, opulent and powerful Kingdom than it self; yet it is far from owning any Subjection or Inferiourity to it. For as to all the mutual Duties and Offices, which may only argue the Esteem and Respect which one Independent Nation yieldeth to another; these it both confesseth to be due; and is ready

ready to pay unto *England*: But to receive Laws from it, or yield an Obedience to its Authority, it neither ought to do it, nor will. And of how near Affinity and Alliance soever the two Kingdoms may be to one another, with respect to Identity of Language Similitude of Manners, Analogy of Customs, and Agreeableness of Essential Rights and Liberties, and by reason of their being under one and the same King: Yet they do nevertheless preserve and maintain distinct and different *Parliaments* and Authorities, have separate and independent *Laws*, and are Governed by their own proper, peculiar and respective *Laws*, as if they were the Subjects of several Kings, and each of them ruled by a distinct Monarch. Nor are the Parliaments of *Scotland* less the Representatives of that Kingdom and People, or under less Obligations of Consulting for, and Promoting the Welfare and Prosperity of their Country, than the Parliaments of *England* are. Neither can the *latter* control or supersede the *Acts* of the *former*, more than the *former* can the *Acts* of the *latter*: For it is not with the Parliament of *Scotland*, as it is with that of *Ireland*, in that the *Irish* Parliament have not so much as a Consultative Power about a Bill, and much less are they clothed with a Right and Authority so far to pass it, as to offer it prepared and agreed upon for the Royal Assent, unless it hath previously received the Approbation of the Privy Council of *England*, and hath been transmitted thither, under the Stamp and Impression of the Great Seal of *England*, granting them Liberty and Permission so to do: Whereas the Parliament of *Scotland* hath both a full and plenary, as well as the sole Right of introducing, moulding, preparing and passing whatsoever *Bills* it judges to be subservient to the King's Honour, adapted to the preservation of the Publick Peace, and conducive to the advancing the Trade and Prosperity of that Kingdom, without being obliged to have the least antecedent regard to what Opinion the Privy Council, or the Kingdom of *England*, either in its Great Senate, or in its inferior Courts, may have of those Bills which the *Scots* bring in, debate and vote in order to their being enacted into Laws. Nor is the King of Great Britain under less Obligation, both by the Duty of his High and Sovereign Station, and by his Regal Oath, to seek and promote the Good and Welfare of *Scotland*, than he is bound by the like Ties, to contrive and pursue the Prosperity and Happiness of *England*. And as *England* doth not allow it to fall within the Circle and Verge of the Royal Authority to supersede, vacate and dispense with Laws once enacted: So the *Scots* do no less disclaim such a Prerogative in the Sovereign, especially with respect to beneficial Laws, and such as are of a Civil and Political Nature

true: Yea, they have as much blamed and withstood all Pretensions of
 their Monarchs, of dispensing with Laws that are Penal, and about Re-
 ligious and Ecclesiastick Matters, as the *English* themselves have done:
 tho possibly they have both withstood that Claim of their Kings, as much
 to their own Damage, and the Prejudice of their true Interests, as to
 the Restraint upon, and Diminution of the Regal Prerogative. And
 then as for that Right, commonly granted to be resident in the Kings of
Great Britan, and to be an Incident inseparable from the Sovereignty,
 of putting a Negative (whensoever they judge it necessary) on Par-
 liamentary Bills, it is the same in whosoever is King of these two King-
 doms, in reference to *England*, that it is to *Scotland*. And whatsoever
 Limitations are conceived by the *English* to ly upon the Prerogative of
 our Monarchs, as to their giving a Negative to Bills of Right, and
 such as are of a National Utility, the *Scots* do plead the same Restri-
 ctions to be upon the Sovereign Power, in reference to Bills, claiming
 either the Confirmation of antient Legal Privileges, or containing and
 making Provision of such greater or lesser National Benefits, which
 (without extream Prejudice to their publick and general Interest) they
 cannot be without, nor account themselves either Happy or Easy,
 through the want of their passing into Laws. So that, *Sir*, this being the
 Nature, Frame and Constitution of the Government of *Scotland*, and a
 true and just Account of the Jurisdiction, Power and Authority of the
 Parliaments of that Kingdom; I do not see why the *Scots* (while they do
 nothing that interferes with their Allegiance to the King, or that doth
 lie in the least repugnancy to the two Kingdoms remaining united under
 one Monarch, or that importeth so much as Shadow of Hostility against
England) may not consult, contrive and enact Laws for the promoting
 their own Good and Prosperity, without regarding whether such Laws
 do either immediately, or in the remote Consequences of them, lessen and
 prove somewhat prejudicial to the Trade and Opulency of *England*. Nor
 can the *English* justly complain of, or blame this Conduct of the *Scots*,
 considering what they have so often done themselves, for the advancing
 their own Traffick and Wealth; not only without respecting whether the
 Methods, in which they did it, might not be prejudicial to the *Scots*
 Nation, but both under an apparent prospect that it would infallibly
 be so; and upon the Influence of those Motives, which directly im-
 ported that what they did, should unavoidably be to the Damage of
Scotland, by depressing it and keeping it impotent and indigent. And
 so justifiable as well as lawful, the *English* judged this manner of pro-
 ceedure towards the *Scots* to be, that they have adapted it for one of the

Maxims of the *Politicks* of *England*, that in order to render this Kingdom Honourable, Potent and Wealthy, *Scotland* must by all imaginable Means be kept Weak and Poor, and therupon contemptible. Nor hath this been less the *Consequence* and *Effect*, than it was the projected and designed *End* of those *English Laws*, bearing the Titles which I have formerly mentioned: So that upon Supposition that the late *Scots Act* was made not only under View, but out of the Intention of lessning and abridging the Trade of *England*, by means of extending and enlarging the *Traffick* of *Scotland*; yet it is no more but meting to the *English*, as they have measured to the *Scots*; and it is but drawing them a Copy of what was an *Original* of their own: To which I shall only add on this Head, that there never was a Nation that was *independent* upon another, (under whatſever Incorporations, Confederacies and Unions they might otherwise be) that did ever neglect, depart from, or forbear the endeavouring the Advancement of its own Benefit and Reputation in the World, meerly because the Conſequence and Effect thereof might be the lessning the Profit, and obstructing the growing and menacing Power and Opulency of another Nation, by which it was overshadowed and depressed.

Which conducteth me, Sir, to the next thing, which I shall presume to lay before you, namely how much, many of your great People, through denying themselves Liberty to think, as well as of your *first thousand Pound Men* of the *Mob* at *Garraways*, (to whom God hath given Riches for denying them *Understanding* and good Nature) are mistaken, first in believing themselves, and then in attempting to impose their belief upon others, that the *Scots Act* for Erecting of a *Company* to trade to *Africa* & the *East-Indies*, will be of prejudice to the Kingdom of *England*, and to the *Commerce* and *Traffick* thereof. Whereas upon the Use of all the Sense I have, and after the outmoſt Exercise of that reasonable Faculty which God hath given me, I am so far from being of their Mind, that I do judge nothing to be more calculatèd and adapted for the Advantage of this Kingdom, than the Establishment of that *Company* is; and that the obstructing the Execution of that *Scots Act*, will be of fatal Conſequence to *England*, and especially to their Societies trading to *Africa* and *East-Indies*; ſeing this *Company* which the *Scots* are establishing, is not to drive a *Traffick* with some little *Island* or diminutive Place, where all the Trade is already preoccupy'd, engross'd and monopolized, but it is to carry on a *Commerce* on two vast *Continents*, and all their adjacent *Islands*; where (besides what is already entered upon and possessed by the *English*) there are many large *Territories*, for others to occupy, and found.

found a *Traffick* in, and these no less fertile in Productions and Manufactures, fit to be imported into Europe, and there vendcd and disposed to great Profit, than they are willing, inclinable and prepared to take of what we can export unto them, of both Kinds of our own. Indeed were the *Scots* *All* framed and intended to worm and supplant the *English* out of those Shares of the *Indian* and *African* Trades, of which they are possessed, or to drive them from their *Forrs* and *Falls*, *ies*, I do think he would not have *English* Blood in his Veins, who would not warmly resent the Design, and endeavour to prevent not only the Execution of it: but to revenge the Attempt upon those that have projected it. But as the *Scots* have no intention of making the least Encroachments upon the *English*, in any of those particular places where they have established a *Commerce*: So it will be both for the Honour of *Great-Britain*, and prove exceeding contributory to the Opulency of *England*, as well as of *Scotland*, to get a larger Share of the *African* and *East-Indian* Trades into their joint and associated Hands, than the two *Companies* of *England* of these Denominations trading thither, have been hitherto able to compass and obtain, or can be in a Condition singly to carry on ad support. Seeing as it may be done without the ones encroaching upon, or interfering with the other there; so there is *Vens* in Europe for more *East-India* Goods than both the Nations can import and bring from thence, were the Stocks of each of them larger, and their *Trades* more flourishing than that of the one ever was, or than there is any prospect that either of them will at any time hereafter come to be. And while several other Nations (betwixt whom and *England* there are none of the Obligations of Friendship, mutual Aid, and Assistance which are between the *English* and the *Scots*) are endeavouring to establish, promote and support *Trades* both to *Africa* and the *East-Indies*, it is matter of Wonder and Surprise, that the *English* should rather desire to have the *French*, *Danes*, *Brandenburgers*, &c. become Partakers and Sharers in those *Trades*, and with as large Priviledges and Immunities as any mentioned in the *Northern All*, than that the *Scots* should have any Portion in them; which would provoke some, that are not very ready to entertain Jealousies, to think that notwithstanding the two Kingdoms have been so long under the same Sovereign, and have lived in the mutual Exercises of many Offices which had an exterior shew of Friendship: that yet after all there remaineth too much of the ancient National *Pique*: And God grant it arrive not at last to a Rupture, and thereupon to such an Enmity as useth to be the effect of Strife, and Discord, when those that have been Friends, and supposed to lie

in one anothers Bosom, come to quarrel and fall out. Nor is it unworthy of Remark, how that in *Edward the Confessor's* Days the *Amity* between these two Nations was so warm and seemingly indissoluble, that (notwithstanding their being under different Monarchs) that good King would not suffer the *Scots* to be stiled nor accounted *Aliens*, and much less to be treated as such, as some of late, in Contempt as well as Neglect of their being under one Sovereign, have been endeavouring they should which yet soon after (upon Motives which I shall not now mention) not only grew cold, but became exchanged into that mutual Hatred, which many Ages could not allay, nor those Seas of Blood stred in their Wars against one another, totally and finally extinguish untill by the Wise and Gracious Providence of God, they became the Subjects of one and the same King; and instead of continuing to be distinguished by the Titles of the *Kingdoms of England and Scotland*, which had been the Badges of their Variance, they grew so far united into one Monarchy, as to be denominated by the stile of *Great-Britain*, which is equally applicable unto, and comprehends both. To which allow me to add, that the *Dutch* having already possessed themselves of the most beneficial Parts of the *African*, as well as of the *East-India* Trades, and having not only raised themselves to wonderful Grandure and Opulency in the *Indies*, but attained to that Sovereignty of Power, as both to give Laws to most of the Princes of those Eastern Dominions, and to make Depredations and Encroachments upon, and subdue and dispossess whom they please; it is matter of great Amazement, that the *English* should not be willing to admit the *Scots* to establish a Trade to the *East-Indies*, if it were but that by their joining, and uniting their Forces and Power with that of the *English*, the *Dutch* may be resisted and withstood in those Invasions and Rapines which they are inclinable enough to commit upon the *English*. And there is reason to expect that *England*, even through the Advice of their own *East-Indian-Company*, should encourage the *Scots* in what they are attempting, rather than to obstruct and dishearten them, considering what the *Dutch*, by Force as well as Fraud, have wrested from and dispossessed the *English* of; and that chiefly through their want of sufficient Numbers of Men in the *East-Indies*, to Protect and defend their *Forts*, *Factories* and *Plantations*, with which *Scotland* can both easily and abundantly furnish them; If the late *Act* of that Kingdom, for erecting an *East-India-Company*, obtain and have the Success that is designed by it, and meet not with Opposition from those whose true Interest it is to further and promote it. Concerning which *Act* and *Company* it was enacted to give an

Establish.

Establishment unto, I will assume the liberty further to say, that the one seems framed, and the other erected under view, and with an Intention of as much Advantage to accrue to *England*, as what *Scotland* it self proposeth to gain, or can have any prospect of. For as a full *Mastery*, if not *sway*, designed to be raised upon the Encouragement and in the Execution of that *Act*; will (or at least may) be the *Money* of English-men, continuing to live and reside in this Kingdom: So the profit that ariseth from the management of the *Scots* stock, will (in proportion thereunto) fall to the *English*, and become a part of their *Capital*. So that besides the Satisfaction which (by this Means) will be given to many *English*, who have been discontented, through their want of *shares* in the *East-India* Company of *England*, and have therefore run upon *Interlopings*, (which this will also put a Period to) most of all the *Gain* arising by the Trade of the *Scots* Company, will center in *England*, and in time add greatly to the Treasure of this *Kingdom*. Which benefit being *National* and Universal, may be accounted more than a Compensation for any Damage, that the *Scots East-India* Company can be supposed to do to the *English* Corporation of that Denomination. And inasmuch as the *Northern* Society cannot prejudice their *Southern* Neighbours in the Vent of their Commodities, either as to what the *Scots* themselves used to take off, nor in what they used to dispose elsewhere; seeing that as the greatest part, if not the whole *Indian* Goods that have been consumed in *Scotland*, were usually brought in and imported from *Holland* where they are purchased cheaper than they can be in *England*: So the *English* Company can be no ways prejudiced, in relation to those *Indian* Commodities which they have hitherto disposed elsewhere in any Parts of *Europe*; Because that as these *Foreign* Countries are ready to take off and consume more than both the *English* and *Scots* Companies can furnish them with, it will likewise be many Years before the *Scots Company* (by reason both of the vast Charge they must be at in settling their Trade, and the many Difficulties and Losses incident to *Beginners*) can be in a condition to undersell the *English*, which is the only way they can be imagined to have, of worming the *English* out of the *Vent* and sale of their Commodities; so that the whole prejudice which can be supposed to befall the *English East-India* Company, through the Execution of the *Scots Act*, resolves it self into the Immunity of the *Scots* from paying Customs for 21 Years, while the *English* remain all that while under such a *Tribute*, Tax and *Imposition*: which, *Sir*, suffer me to say, is not a Matter of that Importance, as to deserve all the Noise that is made about the *Scots* Company.

pany. And tho I be not so much a *Philosopher*, as either to smile at the seeing an *Ass* eat *Thistles*, or at the beholding a *Gown-man* of 70 reading a *Madrigal* with his *Spectacles* on; yet I can hardly forbear laughing to find a Nation that is called *Wise*, and which really is so, to fill both the *Kingdom*, and the adjacent Parts of the *World*, with Clamour and Tattle, because the *English East-India Company* pays *Customs* for all it imports from thence, while the *Scots* are for a few Years to be exempted from it; but who are during that time to be at the Expence of double the Value of that Imposition in the necessary *Charges* they must be at, in the erecting *Fort*s and establishing *Factories*; and towards the settling of their Trade, to make it *practicable* as well as *safe*: Which if they prove so fortunate as to compass and effect, they will not only after the Expiration of that Term of Years, be contented to be liable to pay *Customs*; but that *Kingdom* may in that time, by the Means of their acquired and improved Trade, be in a condition to contribute more, both to the Support of the Civil Government of these Nations; and to the defraying of the Charges of any War, which the *Kingdoms* may come to be engaged in, than they have hitherto been in a Capacity to do, and thereby lessen the Expences of *England*; greatly beyond what they are for 21 Years to be excused from in *Customs*.

Sir, Before I ease you of the Trouble which I have given you, I should lay under your View the several *Ways* and *Means* which your House, as well as the House of *Peers*, are taking to defeat the Design of the *Scots Act*, and should make those Reflections upon them which are just and natural, as well as obvious. But the whole Procedure in that Matter being somewhat extraordinary, I shall not venture upon it, seeing it cannot be done as it ought, with that Respect and Reverence which is due to such awful and august Bodies. And therefore all I will say, shall be only these two Things: First, That the two Houses seem to contribute fully as much to the Interest and Reputation of the *Scots Company*, as the Parliament of that Kingdom has done in giving it *Being*, by thinking it worthy of so much of their Notice, Time and Debate, as they have bestowed upon it, especially at this Season when their whole Time and utmost Abilities are little enough to be employed in the redressing the Grievances of their own Country, and in finding out *Ways* and *Means* for carrying on the War against *France*, and for enabling the King to touch that Foreign Monarch in the sensible part. For, believe me, Sir, the generality of Mankind have conceived a great Esteem for the *Scots East-India Company*, and have entertained more favourable Thoughts of its Success than otherwise they

they would, meerly from the Jealousies you have exprest, and Opposition you are giving unto it. And then, *Secondly*, That all the Ways and Methods you have hitherto fallen upon for the Obstructing the Execution of the *Scots Act*, and the giving Discouragement to their Trade to *Africa* and the *East-Indies*, is perfectly a Conspiracy against your selves, and the carrying on a Plot to endamage and and mischief *England*: For do you think, *Sir*, that by forbidding any of the Subjects of *England* to build Ships for, or to sell to the *Scots* such as are built already, you will disable and incapacitate them from proceeding in their Undertaking? seeing they may buy of the *Hollanders* as many as they will, and of what Bulk they please, and at cheaper Rates than they will do here. So that this, instead of being an obstruction to the *Scots*, will only injure your selves, and benefit the *Dutch*. And then as for the prohibiting any of the Subjects of *England* to become Partners in the *Scots Stock*: as it will tempt many of your Wealthy People to leave *England*, and to withdraw to *Scotland*, which few Men (out of meer fondness to their Country) will forbear to do, when their Interest tempts them to it; so the *Scots* cannot want enough of other Nations to become Partners in their Stock and Trade, upon the *English* declining of it. And as hundreds of the *Dutch* particularly, will both greedily and thankfully embrace the Proposal; so I dread to mention the Consequences which may ensue upon such a Conjunction between the *Scots* and *them*. Nor will I call over the other Methods you have been upon for frustrating the *Scots Attempt* in the Erection of an *East-India Company*, because the very mentioning of them would be to expose them, which the great Honour that I bear for these *Assemblies* at *Westminster*, will not admit me to do; And therefore I will here end, and only assure you, that tho I be a Stranger to you, yet the very taking the liberty to address this Paper to you, sheweth how Ambitious I am, and how much I do value my self, upon the obtaining any Occasion of testifying with what Sincerity I am,

7th Jan. 1696.

S I R.

Your most humble and most

obedient Servant,

C. K.